1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

toward promiscuity, was reported to have been beaten "just like dog" by her mother, who herself has a widespread reputation for past promiscuity. Parents, however, are often willing to condone some premarital sexual experience in older daughters if it avoids promiscuity and leads to marriage. There are few if any unmarried girls above seventeen who can be regarded as virgins or who conduct themselves in such a way as to discourage sexual advances.

Several factors are responsible for this hiatus between ideal and manifest. The first is the delayed age of marriage in the contemporary society. In the past, when the ideals of premarital morality were originally formulated, marriage for girls occurred within a year or two after menarche; now it is often postponed until eighteen or nineteen years of age. Secondly, the post-pubescent girl is often given considerable autonomy and independence, parents relaxing supervision in the face of the girl's demand for such freedom. In the past this relaxation of control would have been correlated with the young woman's adult status and channelized in marriage. If supervision is maintained into late adolescence it is resented by the girl; sexual promiscuity may then be a means of expressing revolt and independence. Finally, most of the parents of adolescents were themselves raised under social conditions similar to those obtaining today, and a great number have borne children out of wedlock. These facts are known to girls, and probably help to undermine parental sanctions.

Despite the fact that premarital promiscuity is disapproved of, girls who manifest such behavior are not ostracized or avoided by other members of the society. In 1944, when a number of girls were almost nightly accepting truck rides with soldiers, one or two older men sought to remonstrate with some of these young women. The girls resented this interference, one telling Old Man that her activities were none of his business. Another girl, June Barre, accused him of having done the same things in his youth. River Joe often criticized his brother's daughter, Irene Wiley, for her promiscuity, and unsuccessfully advised her to marry. To the ethnographer Joe complained of this girl who, refusing marriage, nevertheless would not live alone. "Maybe she look for husband, but don't think so," he said. "Anyway, none of my business." Despite his criticism of Irene's behavior, River Joe never refused to feed or shelter the girl and often expressed concern about her poor appetite.

Two types of extramarital sexual relations may be distinguished in Kaska society, adultery and permissive sexual relations. Unfaithfulness in marriage is probably more common among men than women, since married women only rarely have an opportunity of meeting lovers under suitable conditions of privacy. Adultery is condemned when it occurs in either spouse and frequently leads to quarrels. It is also reported to be not uncommon for a man to beat an adulterous wife, although aggression between a husband and wife's lover is rare and apparently avoided. A woman who sleeps with a married man fears the jealousy and hate of the wife and dreads provoking the latter to physical violence. In general unmarried girls tend to avoid the sexual overtures of married men. Children born from a wife's adulterous relationship are frequently rejected by the husband.[85]

Permissive extramarital sexual relations are unformalized and any evidence of such behavior is carefully guarded, particularly from white people. Wife exchange is sometimes reciprocally arranged between two married men who are good friends or partners. In such

[85] See below, p. 177.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Following birth the baby is not fed for one day and is then put to the mother's breast. 846
The parturient usually remains in bed for four days to a week, and during this period her husband or grown daughters take over the household duties. In summer a mother may be seen carrying her infant through town within two weeks after delivery and by this time she has also resumed most of her customary duties (Plate 4, c).

Children born out of wedlock or conceived in adulterous sexual relations are regarded 848
as illegitimate. All illegitimacy is deplored, but the incidence of premarital motherhood appears to be quite low. The child of an unmarried mother may be cared for by the girl herself or entrusted to the care of grandparents. Once illegitimate children are grown, their status is not different from that of other persons and no evidence of discrimination against them could be observed.

The only two cases observed of extreme rejection of infants involved illegitimate chil- 848
dren. Irene Wiley gave birth to Irma a short time after she had been deserted by her hus- 854
band, who disapproved of her promiscuity. She did not want the infant, neglected its feeding and care, and often abandoned it in her mosquito tent for long periods while she went riding with soldiers. One cold night in August, 1944, Irene's father's brother's wife found the eight months old baby uncovered and so cold that it had to be washed with warm water. Although news of this incident reached the police, who publicly reprimanded the [626]
mother at a dance, Irene did not improve her care of the infant. Commenting on the child Louis Mam once observed: "That baby raise himself. Nobody take care of him. Mother don't care. Never change him . . . Some people tough. Me, I can't do that." River Joe, Irene's paternal uncle, said: "My heart sick I hear that baby cry. Sometime I take care of him." The extent of his care, so far as could be observed, consisted of occasionally feeding Irma sugar cookies. In 1945, when Irma was about two years old and retarded in her development, Irene began to manifest somewhat more attention toward the child.

A second instance of a young mother neglecting her newborn illegitimate infant oc- 848
curred after the *métisse* woman's husband had refused to permit her to keep the child. 851
Although the putative father, a married man, was easily identifiable, no effort was made to 854
induce this man to accept responsibility. Instead both parents left the baby in a tent at Lower Post while they went to visit friends two hundred miles up Dease River. The child was subsequently cared for by the mother's sister and later somewhat reluctantly adopted [597]
by its maternal grandmother. For her behavior the mother is reported to have been censured [626]
by the Indian Agent during his visit to Lower Post.

Children are usually named soon after birth, a Christian saint's name being decided 553
upon by the parents or suggested by the missionary if the baby is brought for baptism. Sometimes naming is neglected for several months after birth. If, during this time, a friend suggests an appropriate name it will be adopted by one or the other parent. Thus the ethnographer named Nitla's baby during the summer of 1945. In addition to a formal personal name, a family occasionally coins a nick-name for a child, but the range of such names is limited. Two common English nicknames are Boss and Piggy.

Children born in Lower Post are usually brought to the mission a few weeks after birth 851
for baptism. The ceremony is little emphasized by the parents and is often delayed until the matter is pressed upon their attention by the priest.